Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 02144 160135Z ACTION EA-09

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CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 2144

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, JA

SUBJECT: SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION DOMINATES JSP CONVENTION

REFS: (A) TOKYO 1808 (B) TOKYO 9280 (1976)

SUMMARY. AS PREDICTED, ULTRA-LEFT SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION WAS STRONGEST SINGLE VOICE AT FEBRUARY 8-10 CONVENTION OF JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY (JSP). IT DEFEATED MOVE BY MODERATES TO HAVE CONVENTION DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF FORMING CENTER-LEFT COALITION TO REPLACE DECLINING LDP AND NEARLY FORCED THROUGH CENSURE OF MODERATE LEADER EDA FOR HIS EXTRA-PARTY ACTIVITIES PROMOTING CENTRIST COALITION. WITH CONTROL OF NEARLY HALF OF CONVENTION'S DELEGATES, ASSOCIATION ASSURED RE-ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN NARITA, SECGEN ISHIBASHI, PLUS ELECTION OF ASSOCIATION MEN TO A NUMBER OF PARTY POSTS, INCLUDING ONE OF THREE VICE CHAIRMANSHIPS. SINCE ASSOCIATION GAINS WERE MADE AT CONFIDENTIAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 02144 160135Z

EXPENSE OF PARTY'S OLDER, ESTABLISHED FACTIONS, ALREADY DEEP INTERNAL DIVISIONS IN PARTY WILL PROBABLY WORSEN. END SUMMARY.

1. SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION, GROUP OF ULTRA-LEFT MARXISTS LED BY ITSURO SAKISAKA, EMERGED FROM FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY (JSP) WITH STRONGEST SINGLE VOICE IN PARTY AFFAIRS. ASSOCIATION'S POWER BASE IS IN RANK-AND-FILE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND IN PARTY PREFECTURAL HEADQUARTERS, FACTORS WHICH ENABLED IT TO SUPPLY 230 OF 510 DELEGATES AT CONVENTION.

- 2. WITH THIS STRENGTH, PLUS ALLIES IN OTHER FACTIONS, ASSOCIATION EASILY OUTVOTED MODERATES IN PARTY WHO SHOUGHT TO INTRODUCE FOR DISCUSSION PROPOSAL BY SABURO EDA THAT JSP SHOULD EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF FORMING COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH CENTRIST (DSP AND CGP) TO REPLACE DECLINING LDP. AFTER DEFEATING MODERATES' PROPOSAL, ASSOCIATION INTRODUCED MOTION CENSURING EDA FOR HIS EXTRA-PARTY PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY TO THINK ABOUT A NEW JAPAN, "DISCUSSION GROUP" OF CENTRIST POLITICIANS INTERESTED IN PROMOTING MODERATE-LEFT COALITION. (SEE REF B) MOTION SET OFF FIERCE DEBATE ON CONVENTION FLOOR BUT WAS WITHDRAWN WHEN EDA, AFTER BACKSTAGE NEGOTIATION, UNDERTOOK TO LEAVE GROUP IF IT BECAME FORMAL POLITICAL PARTY. WITH MODERATES DEFEATED AND EDA CHASTENED, JSP'S 1977 ACTION POLICY. WHICH UNREALISTICALLY CALLS FOR FORMATION OF COALITION OF ALL FOUR OPPOSITION PARTIES (I.E., INCLUDING COMMUNISTS) AND IS FAVORED BY ASSOCIATION, WAS ADOPTED WITHOUT DEBATE.
- 3. ASSOCIATION ALSO WEIGHED IN HEAVILY ON ELECTION OF PARTY OFFICERS.
 ITS BACKING OF TOMOMI NARITA ASSURED HIS UNCONTESTED ELECTION TO A FIFTH TERM. ALTHOUGH LEFTWING SASAKI FACTION, EDA FACTION AND "UNALIGNED" NEW CURRENT SOCIETY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 02144 160135Z

JOINED FORCES IN PUTTING UP SHOICHI SHIMODAIRA TO OPPOSE SECGEN ISHIBASHI, LATTER ELECTED TO FOURTH TERM BY FIFTY-THREE VOTE MARGIN. AS RESULT OF TRADE-OFF NEGOTIATED BY ASSOCIATION AND OTHER FACTIONS, JSP'S THREE VICE CHAIRMEN ARE: KOICHI YAMAMOTO OF EDA FACTION, YOSHINORI YASUI OF NEW CURRENT SOCIETY, AND TORAO TAKAZAWA OF MARCH SOCIETY, POLITICAL ARM OF SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION. ASSOCIATION-BACKED CANDIDATES ALSO GAINED IN SECOND ECHELON PARTY POSTS, GOING FROM TWO BEFORE CONVENTION TO SEVEN, WHILE EDA FACTION DECLINED FROM SIX TO TWO AND SASAKI FACTION FROM EIGHT TO FIVE POSTS. NEW CURRENT SOCIETY, APPARENTLY BECOMING INTRA-FACTIONAL, ANTI-ASSOCIATION RALLYING POINT, GOT ITS FIRST FIVE POSTS, ONE OF WHICH, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WENT TO HIDEO DEN. (DEN IS NOW IN US INVESTIGATING KOREAN PROBLEMS, KCIA AND TROOP WITHDRAWALS.)

4. COMMENT: CONVENTION WENT AS PREDICTED, WITH SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION EMERGING AS PRE-EMINENT POWER GROUPING IN JSP. CONVENTIONAL WISCOM, HOWEVER, IS THAT

ASSOCIATION WILL REFRAIN FROM SEEKING FULL CONTROL OF PARTY FOR FEAR OF CAUSING MODERATES TO BOLT. MODERATE FACTIONS, THOUGH WEAKENED, ARE NOT IN DISARRAY. THEY INCLUDE GREAT MAJORITY OF JSP DIETMEN AND CAN BE COUNTED ON TO CONTINUE MANEUVERING TO PROMOTE POLICIES OF THEIR OWN. THUS ROUGH BALANCE OF FORCES MAY BE REACHED. BUT SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION'S ACCESS TO POWER AND ANTAGONISM WHICH THIS HAS SET OFF MEAN THAT INTERNAL DIVISIONS WITHIN JSP, ALREADY CHRONIC, WILL WORSEN. SHOESMITH

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